/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

1:Nachtigall--102 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
[361] which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses. An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/202 cont./

villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not customary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunderstanding of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

/312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearthstones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

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105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the ele-
• [621] ments of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural
people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no
[177] one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have
[197] preserved their language in extensive sections of their-area of
settlement.

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[151] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
● 624 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

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P 175 648 P [652] [651] P [177] in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

●[621] [631] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions. 648

Po [463] [333] The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council [622] (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

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Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguez*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top*, *left*). Each family had its own house located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suín, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

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Moguex

list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Pass SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they won—

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Leme.